



NATURE, MARKETS, TOURISM

Exploring Tourism's claims to Conservation in India



THE TOURISM DEVELOPMENT CONUNDRUM

IMPACTS AND CONFLICTS WITH PEOPLES' RIGHTS & CHALLENGES TO
CONSERVATION OF PROTECTED AREAS IN INDIAN STATES



1. Introduction

Ecotourism is being pushed aggressively in and around terrestrial and marine protected areas - wildlife sanctuaries and national parks, and unprotected areas that are of significant ecological value. Many of these areas are inhabited by indigenous peoples. While these areas have been conserved by indigenous and local communities, they have been, very often forcibly, displaced from these areas for the purpose of conservation. In many Indian states the governments are still attempting to lure them out of the forest areas by promising monetary or land compensations. While the motive behind displacing the indigenous and local communities is stated by the governments as primarily for conservation, areas that were set aside by law for conservation have witnessed an increase in tourism activities.

Protected Areas in India have had a history of visitation even prior to their being declared as wildlife sanctuaries and national parks under the Wild Life (Protection) Act, 1972 as in the case of Corbett National Park and Kanha National Park. The volume however was small compared to the scale in which it happens today. However, the Wild Life (Protection) Act, 1972 has allowed tourist activity inside the Protected Areas. Therefore, when newer areas get declared as protected under the Wild Life (Protection) Act, 1972, there is no problem for tourist related activities to happen in those areas e.g. in Barnawapara Wildlife Sanctuary in Chhattisgarh. There is also a tendency within the state forest, tourism departments and some tourism industry players to label as ecotourism any tourism activities that happen in these protected and unprotected areas. The Madhya Pradesh Ecotourism Development Board identifies Kanha and Bandhavgarh national parks as ecotourism destinations but not many

resort owners based there claim that they are into ecotourism. The label ecotourism seems loosely applied to market tourism to a growing but niche segment who wants more ecotourism. Some tourism players have used the term to indicate their a few eco-friendly practices that they have adopted. In India, ecotourism in practice generally is not much different from the way in which mainstream or mass tourism operates as it lacks the essential principles of environmental sustainability and equity in benefit sharing with indigenous & local communities. Therefore, in this paper, we shall use the term tourism rather than the generally misused “ecotourism”.

We have selected four states to understand the challenges that tourism development poses in the context of environmental impacts of tourism and involvement of institutions of local self government in tourism. These are the northern state of Uttarakhand, the central Indian Madhya Pradesh, Chhattisgarh and the Union Territory Andaman Islands. Ecotourism is actively being pursued in the Protected Areas of these states; even in Chhattisgarh and Madhya Pradesh which have the special status of having Schedule V Areas¹

Uttarakhand

Uttarakhand became the 27th state of the Republic of India on 9th November 2000. The state was carved out of Uttar Pradesh. One of the reasons for the formation of the state was for greater autonomy to the people of Uttarakhand. It has a total land area of 51,125 sq km,² of which 93% is mountainous and 64% is covered by forest.³ Protected Areas in Uttarakhand include the Jim Corbett National Park (the oldest national park of India) at Ramnagar in Nainital District, Valley of Flowers National Park and Nanda Devi National Park in Chamoli District, Rajaji National Park in Haridwar District, and Govind Pashu Vihar National Park and Gangotri National Park in Uttarkashi District.⁴ The state has been a destination for mountaineering, hiking and rock climbing in India, a recent development in adventure tourism, in the region has been white water rafting and other adventures sports. Ecotourism, agri-tourism and rural tourism have also found new grounds in many villages of the state.⁵

The people of Uttarakhand are heterodox Hindus and Buddhists, while Sikh migrants from West Punjab have settled in the lowlands since 1947. The main indigenous tribes are Jaunsari, Bhotia, Buksha, Tharu and Raji. As a collection of smaller tribes, Jaunsari society is caste stratified with the indigenous Koltas as the main service caste and Khasa Brahmins and Rajputs as the main cultivators. Bhotias are subdivided into three main categories: The Jadhs of Uttarkashi, the Marchas (once mainly traders) and Tolchas (farmers) of Chamoli, and the Shaukas of Pithoragarh (near Dharchula). The Bukshas are inhabitants of the Terai. They have merged all their castes and even today, observe only septs (family names) among their people. The Tharus are a tribal Tibetan-related people that originally inhabited the eastern zone of the Terai, along the border with Nepal. They are subdivided into many sub-tribes, although a majority of them live in Nainital (now Udham Singh Nagar). As agriculturalists, Tharus tend to have large families that live communally, and it is traditional for brothers to live under one roof. The Rajis, also known as Vanrawats (forest lords) are few in number and live in the forest. They inhabit the woods around Ascot in southern Pithoragarh (now Champawat district). A few Muslim groups are also native to the area, although most have come recently. The Muslim Gujjar herders also migrate to the hills.⁶ The Gujjars also inhabit forest areas such as in Rajaji and Corbett.

Madhya Pradesh

Madhya Pradesh is the second largest Indian state in size with an area of 308,000 sq km.⁷ The forest area of the state is 94,689.38 sq km constituting 30.71% of the geographical area of the state.⁸ There are⁹ National Parks and 25 Sanctuaries spread over an area of 10,862 sq. km constituting 11.40%

of the total forest area. The national parks are: Bandhavgarh, Kanha, Satpura, Sanjay, Madhav, Van Vihar, Mandla Plant Fossils, Panna and Pench. The wildlife sanctuaries are: Bori, Bagdara, Phen, Ghatigaon, Gandhisagar, Karera, Ken, Ghariyal, Kheoni, Narsingharh, N. Chambal, Nauradehi, Pachmari, Panpatha, Kuno, Pench, Ratapani, Sanjay Dubri, Singhori, Son Ghariyal, Sardapur, Sailana, Ralamandal, Orchha, Gangau and V. Durgawati. 9 The state has been a destination for wildlife tourism, cultural and heritage tourism, and pilgrimages. The state plans to enter the leisure and business tourism.¹⁰

The total population of Tribals in Madhya Pradesh is 122.33 lakh constituting about 20.27% of the total population of the state. There are 46 Scheduled Tribal groups and 3 Special Primitive Tribal Groups. About 40.63% of total geographical area of the state is under the Tribal Sub Plan and 33.6% of total geographical area has been notified as Scheduled Area.¹¹ The tribal area of Madhya Pradesh can be divided into four main zones as follows:

1. Western Cultural Zone: Districts of Ratlam, Jhabua, Dhar, Barwani, Khargone, Khandwa, Harda, Dewas and Indore fall under this zone. The main tribes residing in this zone are Bhil, Bhilala, Barela and Patelia.
2. Central Cultural Zone: This zone comprises of Mandla, Dindori, Balaghat, Seoni, Chhindwara, Jabalpur, Katni, Narsimhapur, Sagar, Damoh, Umaria, Sehore and Bhopal. The main tribes residing in this zone are Gond, Pardhan, Korku, Baiga, Bharia, Nagarachi and Ojha.
3. North-Eastern Cultural Zone: Districts of Shahdol, Sidhi, Rewa, Satna, Panna, Chhatarpur, Guna and Tikamgarh fall under this zone. Kol, Biar, Panika, Sour and Pav are the main tribes residing in this zone.
4. North-Western Cultural Zone: This zone consists of Morena, Shivpuri, Sheopur, Datia, Gwalior and Bhind districts. The main tribe residing in this zone is Sehar. Three Special Primitive Tribal Groups - Bharia (Patalkot, Chhindwara), Baiga (Umaria, Shahdol, Dindori, Balaghat and Mandla) and Sehar (Shivpuri, Sheopur, Guna, Gwalior, Morena) reside in Madhya Pradesh.¹²

Chhattisgarh

Chhattisgarh, carved out of Madhya Pradesh came into being on 1st November 2000 as the 26th State of the Union. It fulfils the long-cherished demand of the tribal people.¹³ The forest area of the state is 59,772.39 sq km.¹⁴ It has 10.88% of its forests under Protected Area (PA) network. There are three national parks: Indravati, Kanger Ghati and Guru Ghasidas, and eleven wildlife sanctuaries: Achanakmar, Badalkhol, Bhairamgarh, Barnawapara, Gomarda, Pamed, Semarsot, Sitanadi, Tamor Pingla, Udanti, Boramdev.¹⁵ The state has identified ecotourism, culture, heritage, ethno tourism, pilgrimages, adventure tourism, and business & leisure tourism as the thrust areas.¹⁶

The population of Chhattisgarh is notable for the high proportion of Scheduled Tribes and for specific sects primarily constituted of Schedule Castes. Of the total population of Chhattisgarh, tribals constitute at least 32.5%, which is a significantly high percentage. In the last few decades, the demographic profile of tribal dominated areas has undergone a change. This is a cause for concern as it represents large-scale intrusion of non tribals in tribal areas. This changing demographic profile is strongly evident in Bastar, where the proportion of tribals has decreased in the last few decades. According to the 1991 census the tribal population in the then districts of Chhattisgarh was Durg -12.6 %, Raipur - 18.6%, Rajnandgaon - 25.3 %, Bilaspur - 23.4 % Surguja - 54.8 %, Raigarh - 45.5%, Bastar - 67.7 %. The various tribes in the Chhattisgarh region are Gonds, Muria, Bhumja, Baiga, Kanars, Kawars, Halbas etc.¹⁷

Andaman Islands

The Andaman & Nicobar are a group of picturesque islands, big and small, inhabited and uninhabited, a total of 572 islands, islets and rocks lying in the South Eastern Part of the Bay of Bengal.¹⁸ The forests in the Andaman and the Nicobar group of islands occupy 7,606 km² or 92.2 per cent of the total geographical area of 8,249 km²; of this 5,883 km² is forests in the Andaman group and 1,723 km², in the Nicobar group. (Note: The Directorate of Economics and Statistics puts the forest cover in 2006 as 5,629 km² for Andamans and 1,542 km² for the Nicobars). Of the total forest cover, dense forests with crown density of 40 per cent and above constitute 85.9 per cent, open forests with crown density less than 40 per cent constitute 1.7 per cent and mangroves constitute 12.7 per cent. The legally notified forests cover 7,170. 69 km² (86.93 per cent of the geographical area); of this, 4,242 km² are protected forests and 2,929 km² are reserved forests. The A&NI are fringed by one of the most spectacular and extensive reefs in the world that hold significance nationally and globally as the last pristine reefs in the Indian Ocean. However, the extent of reefs in the A&NI is not accurately known yet and recent surveys report it as 11,939 km². There are two protected areas for reefs in the Andamans – the Mahatma Gandhi Marine National Park and the Rani Jhansi Marine National Park, both having adjoining reefs that need inclusion.¹⁹

The Andaman Islands are home to four indigenous tribes. The Great Andamanese people numbered around 6,000 in the 1850s, when the islands were colonised by the British for establishing a penal colony. Today they number 43 and have been marginalised to Strait Island on the southeast coast of Middle Andaman. The Onge who now inhabit Little Andaman Island were the next to be contacted in 1920 and they met a fate similar to that of the Andamanese. The Sentinelese, estimated to be 39 in number, have for long inhabited North Sentinel Island 60 km southwest of South Andaman Island. The Jarawas are in the interior and west coast of South and Middle Andaman and currently number about 240.²⁰

A dynamic demographic profile of the islands makes it difficult to define the term “local community”, as it does not constitute any homogeneous group. There are 503 inhabited villages in the A&NI of which 334 are in the Andaman District on eleven islands and the remaining 170 villages, hamlets, and small and individual family units on 12 islands in the Nicobar district. The total population according to the 2001 census is 356,152.²¹

2. People's Struggles in the States

The Constitutional provisions of the 73rd Amendment and Schedule V & PESA Act (refer sections below for details) that accord rights to indigenous and local communities to land and autonomy have not been adequately devolved by the state legislatures. The gradual increase in the struggles of indigenous peoples and local communities for human rights, constitutional rights and for cultural identity, rights over natural resources and common property resources (CPR), is seen as an obstacle by the governments. Often these voices of dissent are suppressed by use of state sponsored violence. The land of indigenous and local communities is continuously being encroached upon to usher in development that usurps not only their land but also their autonomy, control over their region and traditional rights and systems of self governance. Land for mining, dams, industries and power plants is appropriated even in Scheduled Areas in the under the guise of economic growth and development. Many of these areas are sites of conflict - seeing increasing violence and armed struggles as the demand for development that reaches people according their needs and aspirations is rejected and top down development measures that do not benefit local people are imposed.

While the state functions as facilitator cum real estate broker for acquiring land for industries, the common land of villages and people's rights over these common property resources in Scheduled Areas are handed out to private bidders. The ever decreasing availability of per capita common property resources have direct linkages to worsening the status of families that continue to depend on the CPRs to meet their daily needs, livelihoods, income needs and employment opportunities derived from the CPRs. The accelerated privatisation of common property resources and their decreasing geographical coverage is also increasing inequalities within the society, increasing hardship for women who collect these resources and thereby making worse the living standards of families at the bottom of the development pyramid. Though the state is just a trustee of these public resources, it has increasingly connived with industry to privatise these resources for commercial gain and therefore impeded free public use. On the other hand, extractive industries are allowed to operate even in protected areas and other ecologically sensitive areas, on government subsidies and incentives with procedures that streamline approval of these projects in the absence of any environmental or social impact assessment reports.

It is therefore that when the tourism industry makes an easy entry into these spaces, facilitated by governments that the local people ask "why the Taj is considered eco and not the Baiga"²².

Figure 1:

Critical issues of study states in which
context tourism is located

Map source: Government of India



3. Key Tourism Issues in the States

In order to understand the key tourism issues in the states the following sites were selected:

1. Uttarakhand – Corbett national park
2. Madhya Pradesh – Bandhavgarh and Kanha national parks
3. Chhattisgarh – Achanakmar and Barnwarapara wildlife sanctuaries
4. Andaman Islands – various tourism locations especially South Andaman Island, Havelock and Neil Islands

Uttarakhand

Created in 1955-56, it is the oldest National Park of India. It was one of the nine Tiger Reserves created at the launch of the Project Tiger in 1973. Corbett National Park lies in two districts – Nainital and Pauri. It covers an area of 521 sq. km and together with the neighbouring Sonanadi Wildlife Sanctuary and Reserve Forest areas, forms the Corbett Tiger Reserve over 1,288 sq. km.²³ The original area of the Park was 323.75 sq. km. to which 197.07 sq. km. was added later. An area of 797.72 sq. km. was added as buffer of the Corbett Tiger Reserve in 1991. This area includes the whole of Kalagarh Forest Division (including 301.18 sq. km. area of Sonanadi Wildlife Sanctuary), 96.70 sq. km. of Ramnagar Forest Division and 89 sq. km.²⁴

Tourism is allowed in selected areas of Corbett Tiger Reserve.²⁵ The main tourism areas in Corbett are Dhikala, Jhirna, Bijrani, Sonanadi and Domunda. Only day visits in conducted safaris are allowed in the tourism areas in vehicles approved by the Forest Department and accompanied by a Forest Department trained and licensed guide. For night halts three tourist complexes located at Dhikala, Gairal and Bijrani offer a choice of accommodation type. Dhikala has the maximum bed capacity including a dormitory. Basic lodging is available for tourists at other Forest Rest Houses at Malani, Sultan, Gairal, Sarpduli, Khinanauli, Kanda and Jhirna. Visitors can also stay at the Forest Rest Houses at Lohachaur, Rathuadhab, Halduparao, Mundiapani, Morghatti, Sendhikhal and Dhela.²⁶ Apart from these, there are many resorts, lodges and hotels in Ramnagar and Dhikuli, which are on the border of the Park. The number of tourism establishments in Dhikuli alone has been estimated as 49 along a stretch of 18 km.²⁷

Corbett remains open to tourists from 15th November to 15th June. The main reason for closure of the Park during the rest of the year is that during the monsoons most of the roads get washed away. Repair work starts after the rains end and it is only by November that roads are back in motorable condition.²⁸ The number of visitors to Corbett in 2006-07 was 139,047, with 130,714 domestic tourists and 8,333 foreign tourists.²⁹

Key Tourism Issues

The Corbett National Park has been a heavily visited area for many years. This heavy influx of tourists has led to visible stress signs on the natural ecosystem. Excessive trampling of soil due to tourist pressure has led to reduction in plant species and has also resulted in reduced soil moisture. The tourists have increasingly used fuel wood for cooking. This is a cause of concern as this fuel wood is obtained from the nearby forests, resulting in greater pressure on the forest ecosystem of the park.³⁰ Additionally, tourists have also caused problems by making noise, littering and causing disturbances in general³¹.

The development of private tourism resorts around Corbett began in early 1990s. The tourists who came to Corbett earlier were the serious types but the profile of tourists has changed considerably over the years. Now the tourists who come mainly from cities are not interested in wildlife and nature, but rather want to only have a sighting of the tiger. The way tourism is handled in Corbett gives an impression that Corbett belongs to the tourism industry. There is also no proper interpretation centre for the tourists.

The [migratory] corridors around Corbett have been choked due to the coming up of the resorts. This has led to an increase in human – animal conflict.

Villages around Corbett have been displaced by resorts and in many instances land belonging to Scheduled Tribes has been purchased in connivance with the government.

There is lot of sewage that is being dumped in the Kosi River from the resorts. During weekends and other holidays [when there is a surge of tourists] resorts play music loudly, which disturbs the local people and the animals in the forest.

- Pers. Comm. with Ganesh Rawat, journalist, Ramnagar, 8th November 2008

Corbett receives around 3,000 visitors per day during the tourist season, but most of them do not come to the bazaar and stay in the resorts. So where is the question of local people benefitting from tourism? The only opportunities for local people are to run Gypsies (safari vehicles) inside the Park and some of them get employed as guides.

Tourism in Corbett is very expensive and is beyond the reach of low budget tourists. Therefore, facilities for low budget tourists should also be created. In this regard, home-stay facilities could be created in Ramnagar by involving the local Panchayat. These could be marketed by the Kumaon Mandal Vikas Nigam.

There is serious issue of land around Corbett. While the norm in Uttarakhand is that people from outside Uttarakhand cannot buy more than 100 sq m of land without the permission of the District Magistrate and stating clear reasons; upto 100 sq m can be bought without permission; there has been large scale transactions of land in Dhikuli, Marachula (near Ramganga River) and Dhela. The cost of land has increased to Rs. 40,00,000 per bigha³² while it was only around Rs. 50,000 per bigha ten years back.

The Government listens only to resort owners & not local people. To make a submission local people have to make roads block, whereas government officials are sitting in resorts and addressing their issues. No resort owner is interested in addressing over all development issues of the area like education, transportation etc, from which they will also be benefitted. Similarly, the Forest Development will hold discussion with resort owners and not with local traders association.

- Pers. Comm. with Prabhat Dhyani, Editor, Uttarakhand Prabhat Times, Ramnagar, 8th November 2008

Human – animal conflict in Corbett has also been attributed to tourism when a woman was killed by a tiger in Dhikuli on the periphery of the Corbett National Park. A media report states: “The tiger was declared a maneater after it killed a woman who had entered the buffer zone of the reserve three days ago. It has also attacked two people who were riding a motorbike. We have all options open to deal with this now. It may be eliminated if it cannot be caught,” says Vinod Singhal, director, Corbett Tiger Reserve. But the problem, he admits, is man-made. “This particular tiger did not tolerate the presence of elephants (carrying tourists) and used to charge at them. He gradually lost his fear of humans.

Tourism around the park is a problem. Ideally, it has to be checked,” says.³³ The story is further corroborated by the woman Bhagwati Devi’s husband, B. C. Nainwal who says “It is the policies of the government that made the tiger a victim of public ire ... The tiger was roaming near Dhikuli for four-five months. The main reason was elephant safaris by resorts here. They are known to throw meat in front of the tiger to increase the sighting of the big cat.”³⁴

Madhya Pradesh

Kanha National Park

Kanha is one of the oldest wildlife sanctuaries in India and is spread over Mandla and Balaghat districts. It was declared as a reserve forest in 1879 and upgraded to a wildlife sanctuary in 1933. It was declared as a National Park in 1955 and then declared as a tiger reserve in 1973. It covers an area of 944 sq km, which forms the core zone of the Kanha Tiger Reserve; the surrounding area of 1,009 sq km is the buffer zone. The neighbouring 110 sq km Phen Wildlife Sanctuary forms micro-core of the Kanha Tiger Reserve. Between 1969 and 1998, 27 villages were relocated from the core zone of the Park.³⁵

The Park is open to tourists from 1st October to 30th June, and it remains closed between the monsoon months of July and September. There are two entry points to the Park namely Khatia and Mukki. Tourists are allowed in two batches during morning and afternoon between 6.30 am – 10.30 am & 2.30 pm – 5.30 pm. Only light petrol and diesel vehicles with four-wheel drive manufactured in the last 5 years are allowed inside the park.³⁶ Each vehicle has to be accompanied by a Forest Department trained and licensed guide. A total of 140 vehicles are allowed per day. Most of the vehicles are locally owned.

Accommodation is provided by both government and private establishments. While some government lodges are located inside the Park, the private lodges are concentrated around the two entry points namely Khatia and Mukki.³⁷ The Forest Department puts the capacity of accommodation to 500 beds. Kanha received 97,258 domestic tourists and 8,573 foreign tourists during the year 2007.³⁸

Bandhavgarh National Park

Bandhavgarh has been an excellent habitat of tiger and is known for the highest density of tigers in the world. The area of 105 sq km was notified in 1968 as a National Park. The remaining part of the National Park i.e. 343.842 sq. km. is yet to be finally declared though State Government had made the initial notification in 1982. Panpatha Sanctuary with an area of 245.847 sq. km. was declared in 1983. Considering the importance of the National park, it was included in the Project Tiger Network in 1993. The adjoining Panpatha Sanctuary too was declared as a part of the Reserve.³⁹ It is located in the Umaria District of Madhya Pradesh.

Like Kanha, the Park is open to tourists from 1st October to 30th June, and it remains closed between the monsoon months of July and September. Tourism is restricted to 105 sq km of the Tala Range, which amounts to 23.4% of park area. The tourism zone is divided into three zones and each zone has limited vehicle entry. There are two entry points: Tala & Gohri gates in two batches during morning and afternoon between 6.30 am – 10.30 am & 2.30 pm – 5.30 pm. Around 50 vehicles are allowed inside the Park per day.⁴⁰ Only light petrol and diesel vehicles with four-wheel drive manufactured in the last 5 years are allowed inside the park⁴¹ and have to be accompanied by a Forest Department trained and licensed guide. Most of the vehicles are owned by local people and resort owners.

Tourism started when craze for wildlife tourism increased. Initially in the 80's visitors were fewer than 1,000 per year. The tourist arrivals picked up slowly. During 90's the number rose to 2,000 and in the last year (2007) the number of tourists increased to 60,000 per year. Of these, around 20,000 are foreigners and rest domestic. The number of tourists during holidays and weekends is very high. Now there is restriction to the tourist entry based on the carrying capacity study⁴². From January 2008, the park has started online bookings for safaris. Bandhavgarh received 55,835 domestic tourists and 13,706 foreign tourists during the year 2007.⁴³

Accommodation is available at the Forest Rest House run by the Forest Department and at White Tiger Forest Lodge run by the Madhya Pradesh Tourism Development Corporation.⁴⁴ The private establishments are located in the areas of Tala – Ranchha (4 resorts), Tala (15 resorts), Tala – Bijheria (9 resorts) and Gohri Gate (1 resort).⁴⁵ Additional six hotels were due for completion and commencement of operations in 2009.⁴⁶

Key Tourism Issues

The local people mainly get jobs as guides and safari vehicle drivers. There are 57 guides and around 80-90 safari vehicles in the village owned by local villagers and resorts. The guides are selected from surrounding villages, which are about 166 villages in a periphery of about 5 km in the buffer zone. The guides earn Rs.150 per day during the tourist season and the safari vehicle drivers⁴⁷. There are 57 guides and around 80-90 safari vehicles in the village owned by local villagers and resorts. The guides are selected from surrounding villages, which are about 166 villages in a periphery of about 5 km in the buffer zone.⁴⁸ The guides earn Rs.150 per day during the tourist season and the safari vehicle drivers earn around Rs. 2,000 per month. The tourists give them a good amount as tips.⁴⁹

In the hotels and resorts, they get jobs as helpers and room boys.⁵⁰ Some of them get jobs in resorts for cleaning and grass cutting.⁵¹ The villagers also get jobs as labourers with the Forest Department in activities like water hole management and fire protection.⁵² Sometimes resorts like the Taj⁵³ and other resorts conduct tribal dances wherein local people are paid around Rs. 700 – 1,000 for a performance.⁵⁴

The primary occupation of local people is agriculture and in the tourism season people seek employment in hotels and resorts. Therefore, the availability of people gets reduced in agriculture. The people work for about of 15-20 days in the tourism season and their monthly incomes [during the tourism season] have doubled on an average from Rs. 2,000 to Rs. 4,000. This has led to availability of expendable incomes with the local people, which they are now spending on consumption of alcohol. In the broader socio-cultural context of the area, women more than men are engaged in labour (agriculture and other work). However, none are employed in hotels except during the construction phase. Employment in hotels is considered as a social taboo for women.⁵⁵ Overall, most of the employment (managers, front office staff, and waiters) is given to non-locals.⁵⁶ The tourism establishments do not source materials from the local markets.⁵⁷ Hence there is very little benefit to the local economy.

Many tourism establishments use firewood as fuel for heating and cooking, and for organising camp fires for the tourists.⁵⁸ The firewood is collected from the forests by the local people who in turn sell it to the establishments.⁵⁹ As there are many tourism establishments still being built, there is a lot of demand for mud-bricks. The kilns, where these mud-bricks are manufactured, use timber to fire the kilns and the timber is extracted from the forests by local people.⁶⁰ The construction of tourism establishment also uses a lot of bamboo and bally (poles of young trees), which are extracted mainly from those forest areas that are not within the national park.⁶¹ This has led to depletion in the vegetation cover of the area.

The existence of non-biodegradable solid wastes like plastic bags, covers, wrappers, bottles, tea cups and glasses is posing a serious problem to the well being of the local environment. There have even been deaths of domestic and wild animals due to consumption of plastic carry-bags⁶², which are often disposed with left-over of food stuff inside them. The animals are attracted by the smell and since they cannot take the food stuff of the carry bags, they consume the food stuff along with the carry bags.

Chhattisgarh

Achanakmar Wildlife Sanctuary

The Achanakmar wildlife sanctuary was constituted in the year 1975 it comprises of 557.55 sq km.⁶³

Most of the visitors are day tourists. There is a guest house that is run and managed by the CG Forest Department.

An information / interpretation centre has been established beside a café, where photographs of the forests, flora & fauna have been displayed. There is a resort named Jungle Resort, owned by Dr. Anish Deshkar from Bilaspur that is inside the wildlife sanctuary. It has three rooms with 3, 4 and 6 beds respectively and is mostly used by Bengali tourists during the peak tourist season of October to January. Visitation statistics to Achanakmar were not available with the authorities.

Barnawapara Wildlife Sanctuary

Located in northern part of Mahasamund district of Chhattisgarh, Barnawapara Wildlife Sanctuary is one of the finest and important wildlife sanctuaries in the region. Established in 1976 under Wild Life (Protection) Act of 1972, the sanctuary is relatively a small one covering an area of only 245 sq km.⁶⁴

Barnawapara receives around 25,000 tourists during the year. Most tourists are day visitors. During the Pushpurni mela (local festival held on 31 Jan every year), around 70,000 tourists come in personal vehicles. The revenue generated from tourism in Barnawapara in 2007-08 was Rs. 15,60,000.⁶⁵

About 40-45 local youth have been trained as guides and their fee is Rs. 60 / trip / hour. Their training has been on introducing themselves and the PA; filtering food stuff, water bottles, packed material and plastic bags; preventing tourists from getting down from the vehicles. The guides can explain a little about birds and plants mostly in local names, but communicating with foreign tourists is difficult as they don't know English.⁶⁶

Key Tourism Issues

The scale of tourism is very low as compared to other places like Kanha and Bandhavgarh national parks. Therefore there are no substantial impacts of tourism in these wildlife sanctuaries. The presence of a private resort inside the Achanakmar Wildlife Sanctuary is a matter of concern and it is a clear violation of Wild Life (Protection) Act, 1972 (see figure 2). However, the Chhattisgarh Forest Department, in a bid to promote ecotourism, has constructed a luxurious resort in a forest area adjacent to the Barnawapara Wildlife Sanctuary, the case study of which has been described.

The Chhattisgarh Forest Department has completed construction of an “eco-resort” on the periphery of the Barnawapara Wildlife Sanctuary (see figure 3). The land belongs to Chhattisgarh Forest

Figure 2:
View of Jungle Resort, Achanakmar Wildlife Sanctuary
Source: EQUATIONS, 2008



Development Corporation. Total cost of construction is Rs. 2.16 crore. The resort has 6 cottages in 2 blocks and has a capacity of 24 beds, along with a reception centre, restaurant and staff quarters. The resort is electrified by a 10KW solar unit, installed at a cost of Rs. 15 lakhs. The reason for opting solar as the source of electricity was out of necessity as there is no other power supply to these areas. The resort has been handed over to the Chhattisgarh Tourism Board for running and management. The property is being considered for privatisation.⁶⁷ The Chhattisgarh Tourism Board considers privatisation through the PPP model (public-private partnership) as a good option. The main activity of the Chhattisgarh Tourism Board is to create infrastructure and hand them over to private players to operate. The private players will accrue benefits and the State will be benefitted through collection of taxes. The Board is also of the view that the government should not run hotels rather they should be more involved in creating infrastructure and marketing destinations.⁶⁸



Figure 3:
Views of Mohda Eco Resort, Barnawapara Wildlife Sanctuary
Source: EQUATIONS, 2008

The Mohda Eco Resort is located in a forest and on the banks of a lake, which are common property resources. The diversion of forest land to a non-forest purpose can be challenged under the Forest (Conservation) Act, 1980. While this project is a clear case of diversion of forest land for commercial purposes, what is even more serious is its transfer to private parties. The common property resources of the forest and water-source, which could have been used by the local people, have now been segregated for the exclusive use and enjoyment of tourists.

Andaman Islands

The main tourism locations in the Andaman Islands are Port Blair, Wandoor, Ross Island, North Bay, Mount Harriet, Chidiyatapu, Baratang, Diglipur, Havelock, Neil, Mayabunder, Rangat, and Jollybuoy, Red Skin in the Mahatma Gandhi Marine National Park. The number of tourists who visited Andaman Islands in 2006 were 1,18,648 domestic tourists and 9,051 foreign tourists.⁶⁹ There is low seasonal variation within the year for domestic tourists but the numbers are slightly higher in the months of November, December and January. However, for the foreign tourists, there is high intra-year seasonality with peak season being mid October – mid March.⁷⁰

Key Tourism Issues

For most domestic tourists, the reason for choosing the Andamans as a holiday destination is the leave travel concession (LTC) provided by the central government and for foreign tourists, it is the past experiences and recommendations of other tourists. While the beaches and the pristine natural beauty of the Andamans is a motivating factor for both domestic and foreign tourists, the latter also come to Andamans for snorkeling and diving.

The main social issues of tourism in the Andamans are that there is some resentment about rise in prices of essential goods, fruits, vegetables that the local people attribute to tourism. There is dissent over attire of foreign tourists and fears of local youth aping western culture and values, lifestyle. Tourism has given women some opportunities to enter economic activities although the industry still tends to be dominated by men. Presently there is not too much evidence of child labour but this could increase especially with increase in migrant labour. There is low evidence of tourism-linked prostitution currently in the Andamans, however fears exist that this is on the rise. Tourism-related crime is on the rise in few Islands although these incidents have been sporadic and subject to varying interpretations. Tourism related drug abuse and drug peddling is present in the Islands. By and large tourists, especially women, perceive the Andamans as a safe destination (96.5% of domestic and 90.7% of foreign tourists perceived the islands to be a safe destination).⁷¹

However, tourism's impact on the indigenous tribes – the Jarawas – is a matter of serious concern as there is continuing use of the Andaman Trunk Road despite the Supreme Court of India's order in May 2002 to close it down in six months. Tour operators take tourists, especially domestic tourists, on expectations of seeing 'primitive, naked tribes'.⁷² The main concern is that the Jarawas do not have immunity against many diseases like measles. Any contact with other people would mean increasing their vulnerability to such diseases. For the Jarawa, each disease is an epidemic to which many have lost their lives.

Tourism currently does not seem to play a significant role in terms of the Gross State Domestic Product (GSDP) and employment, contrary to popular belief and policy positioning. Despite significant increase in tourist arrivals over last 2 decades, contribution of sector to GSDP has stagnated at 8% due to low local expenditure by tourists. Revenue generation from tourism is low and accounts for only 1.4% of total revenue receipts. Employment in the tourism sector is less than 1.5% of total main workforce of the Islands and a substantial percent of the workforce does not get secure employment in tourism. The tendency is to recruit skilled labour from Port Blair or mainland. The local workforce employed is only in low-skill and seasonal kind of jobs. There is evidence of local entrepreneurship in tourism – 50% of accommodation units within Port Blair and in other Islands are owned by locals. Tourism has created some jobs in the ancillary industry - taxi, auto drivers, shop owners, guides, but these are of a seasonal nature.⁷³

But what are more alarming are the environmental impacts of tourism in the Andamans. There is already a strain of other development activities and population pressure on natural resources of Andamans and its biodiversity. Tourism, which is largely unregulated and unplanned, has led to increased pressure on fresh water availability. The tourism infrastructure is inconsistent with the ecological setting and is very energy intensive. There is a serious problem of waste disposal and pollution from solid wastes: the sewage is disposed directly into the sea and the solid wastes are allowed to accumulate, then burnt (see figure 4). Land based development activities and tourist activities like snorkeling have had an impact on the coral reefs. The former has led to sedimentation that has choked the corals (as they are filter feeders) and the latter due to physical damage. Important regulations like the Coastal Regulation Zone Notification, 1991 and environmental impact assessments have not been implemented and tourism has violated them consistently. There has also been poor implementation of Orders of the

Figure 4:

One of the many solid waste dumping sites in Havelock Island, Andaman Islands (note the high content of non-biodegradable solid wastes like plastic bags, covers, wrappers and bottles)

Source: EQUATIONS, 2007



Supreme Court based on the Shekhar Singh Commission Report. These impacts are critical to be taken note of seriously in the context of the impacts from climate change wherein Islands are the most vulnerable.⁷⁴

4. Common Tourism Issues in the States

Regulating Tourism Growth around PAs

The growing number of tourism establishments on the boundaries of National Parks and Wildlife Sanctuaries is a matter of concern. While the Wild Life (Protection) Act 1972 does allow tourists into Protected Areas, it clearly disallows private, commercial establishments to be located inside. Presently, there is no regulation or control on the number of tourism establishments coming up on the

peripheries of Protected Areas.⁷⁵ The Indian Board for Wildlife, the apex advisory body in the field of wildlife conservation in the country, in its XXI meeting in January 2002 resolved that “lands falling within 10 km of the boundaries of National Parks and Wildlife Sanctuaries should be notified as eco-fragile zones under section 3(v) of the Environment (Protection) Act and Rule 5 Sub-rule 5(viii) & (x) of the Environment (Protection) Rules”. Despite this, a rash of tourism establishments are found cheek by jowl in the immediate periphery of every Protected Area of repute like Corbett, Bandhavgarh, Kanha. Newer Protected Areas like Barnawapara Wildlife Sanctuary have also begun to see tourism establishments coming up on their peripheries.

The Madhya Pradesh Tourism Development Corporation (MPTDC) has also come up with scheme to boost private investment for tourism development around Protected Areas. The scheme seeks to invite investment for building hotels, resorts, entertainment centres, golf courses etc in “chosen locations that have immense potential and investor-friendly politico-administrative environment”.⁷⁶

The MPTDC will facilitate land acquisition for private investors. They have stated that a land bank has been created by identifying pieces of land spread over eleven districts of the State namely Jabalpur, Umariya, Chhattarpur, Dhar, Indore, Tikamgarh, Ujjain, Bhopal, Panna, Seoni and Narsinghpur. Specific areas have been identified within these districts from which pieces of land will be leased out for 90 years on freehold or public-private partnership basis. The MPTDC has identified land for creating banks around the Bandhavgarh National Park in Umariya district for construction of resorts and recreation centres. Land for construction of resorts and hotels is also available within 10 km distance of the Panna Tiger Reserve at various locations in Janwar, Jardhowa Tara, Sakeria, Amjhiriya and similarly at Seoni which is 9 km from Pench National Park. It intends to build world-class infrastructure around national parks and sanctuaries for attracting high end tourists. The investment scheme seeks to boost tourism infrastructure development as close as possible to national parks and wildlife sanctuaries. Schemes such as these do not take into account the impacts of tourism development on the boundaries of Protected Areas.

Protected Areas do not have physical boundaries such as fences. The surrounding areas of Protected Areas have many different land uses ranging from forests, agriculture land or fallow land (agriculture land that has been left uncultivated), to human settlements and even intensive activities like mining. In the case of Protected Areas discussed above, land use is mostly forests and agriculture, fallow land. These areas are used by wildlife for various purposes like finding food and water in other areas when there is less available inside the Protected Areas and periodic migration. When the population of species increases inside the Protected Areas, the animals have the ability to spread to the surrounding areas, or use the corridors to move to other habitats.

The development of tourism establishments around Protected Areas hinders the use of surrounding areas and also blocks the movement of animals to other forest or protected areas through the corridors.⁷⁷ The animals are then forced to enter human habitations thereby increasing the possibility of human-animal conflicts. These conflicts have lead to damage and loss of property as well as human and animal lives.

The other problems are of habitat loss and fragmentation due to infrastructure developments like constructions of roads.⁷⁸ The location and numbers of resorts crowding on the periphery of the Park has become such a severe problem in Corbett that the local people are considering filing a Public Interest Litigation on this issue.⁷⁹

Disregard for Provisions of the Constitution (Seventy Third) Amendment Act, 1992

The Constitution (Seventy Third) Amendment Act, 1992 (also known as the 73rd Amendment) requires a three tier system of Panchayati Raj Institutions to be constituted for decentralisation and devolution of powers from the Centre to the grassroots in order to enable these bodies to function as institutions of local self government. The 73rd Amendment further requires the Legislatures of all Indian States to delegate decision making powers on issues specified under Schedule XI of the Indian Constitution to the Panchayats to enable them to plan and implement schemes for their social and economic development on, among others, land improvement, land reforms and maintenance of community assets.⁸⁰ The panchayats have also been given the powers as institutions of local self government to decide on the kind of development that they would like in their areas of jurisdiction. They have also been empowered to impose taxes, tolls and duties through a law by the state legislature.

The panchayats are not consulted when tourism projects or plans are prepared by the governments, private investors or companies. The panchayats get to know about the project or plans at the implementation stage only after all clearances have been given by various other departments. Whereas clearances on power, water supply and sewage are given by the electricity department and public works department respectively, the issue of land allocation and conversion if any is done at the District Collector's level and the panchayats have no say in land matters. The role of the panchayats is then reduced to a formality⁸¹ when a letter of intent is written to the panchayats for specifying purpose of land-use⁸² and a 'No Objection Certificate' is requested from the panchayats. At this stage, the panchayats do not refuse because clearances have already been given by other departments.

"There is no dialogue with local panchayats and departments take decisions unilaterally on any kind of developmental activity. No body is informed of any projects that they [government or industry] make ... When the tourist resort [ecotourism venture of the Chhattisgarh Forest Department] was inaugurated by the Chief Minister on 26 July 2008, there were no discussions with the local people; in fact the local people were prevented from meeting the CM. At least the main people of the village could have been invited but even that was not done. Ironically the theme of the inauguration programme was 'handing over to people' and the people were not invited. The CM had come with nearly 20 other cabinet ministers. It would have been appropriate if they had visited a few villages and inquired about their conditions ... There are many tourism resorts that have come up on the periphery [of the Barnawapara Wildlife Sanctuary] and the permission is given by the Chhattisgarh Forest Department. [That is because] The land is owned by government".

- Mr. Niranjana, Panchayat Pradhan, Loridkhar Village, Barnawapara Wildlife Sanctuary, Chhattisgarh.⁸³

"The role of the panchayats is a formality ... With respect to land, all matters are done at the Registrar's level and there is no role for the panchayats".

- Mr. Rajesh Singh, Sarpanch, Tala Village Panchayat, Bandhavgarh, Madhya Pradesh.⁸⁴

"I am not looking at large scale tourism and do not want cement construction and very big resorts coming into Neil. The Panchayat needs to be careful that their land is not sold out to industrialists from outside. The Panchayat is helpless regarding plans to develop tourism in the Island. There are not enough funds to maintain cleanliness on the beaches. The Administration has to provide the funds or take over maintenance"

- Ram Krishna Biswas, Pradhan, Neil Island, Andaman & Nicobar Islands⁸⁵

The case of Kanha National Park is of special relevance to the issue of implementing the 73rd Amendment because it falls in the category Schedule V Areas. Article 244 of the Constitution of India through its Schedule V provides protection to the indigenous peoples living in the Scheduled Areas and gives them the right to self rule. It disallows the transfer of indigenous peoples' lands to non-indigenous peoples. The 73rd Amendment is applicable in Schedule V Areas through the Panchayat Extension to Scheduled Areas (PESA) Act, 1996 to improve the system of participatory governance in the Scheduled Areas. The Constitution of India through the Schedule V along with the Panchayat (Extension to Scheduled Areas) Act, 1996 (PESA) re-enforces the rights of the indigenous peoples to territorial integrity and to decide on their own path of development. Within a year of passing of this Act, i.e. by 24 December 1997, all the states with Scheduled Areas were to amend their existing Panchayati Raj Acts and incorporate the PESA provisions. The PESA Act in recognition of the traditional and customary laws of the tribal areas mandates the gram sabhas to:⁸⁶

- a. Approve the village's plans & projects for social and economic development before they are implemented by the Gram Panchayat.
- b. Identify beneficiaries for poverty alleviation programmes.
- c. Give certification for utilization of funds by the panchayat for the mandated activities, thus making the gram sabha a powerful instrument in socio economic development of the tribals.
- d. The gram sabha or panchayat at the appropriate level has to be consulted before any land acquisition is done for development projects in Scheduled Areas or before rehabilitation of project affected families is undertaken.

The Kanha National Park is spread over two tehsils namely Bichhiya Tehsil in Mandla District and Baihar Tehsil in Balaghat District (see figure 5). The entire district of Mandla and Baihar Tehsil are under Schedule V status. Tourism development in and around Kanha National Park is a case that exemplifies the violation of the Constitutional provisions in Schedule V Areas. What has been observed in the case of Kanha National Park is a growing number of private, tourism establishments that are added every year. Both at the Khatia gate and Mukki gate, there are nearly 70 tourism establishments and distributed roughly as: 40 near the former and 30 near the latter. Land is continuously being sold locally and is being bought over by investors to build tourism establishments like hotels, resorts and lodges (see figure 6).

Figure 5:
Location of Kanha National Park in
Schedule V Areas of Madhya Pradesh
Source: www.indiabiodiversity.org

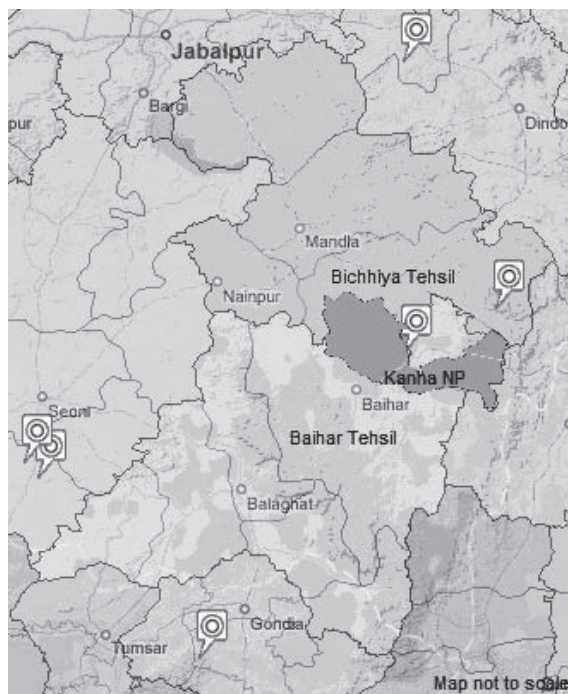


Figure 6:
 Advertisements for sale of land
 near Kanha National Park
 Source: EQUATIONS, 2008



The figure above shows an advertisement for sale of land claiming it is in a general category (meaning it is not in a Schedule V Area). However, a Central Government Order⁸⁷ issued by the Ministry of Law and Justice⁸⁸ clearly states that the whole of Mandla District and Baihar Tehsil in Balaghat District are Scheduled V Areas. Therefore, the claim that the land on sale is general category or non-Schedule V land is false. It is likely that most land transactions relating to tourism establishments around Kanha National Park are unconstitutional and illegal. But this continues quite brazenly.

Additionally, the Chhattisgarh Government is providing incentives to investors for establishment and expansion of tourism units and infrastructure for economic development and employment generation. In this Incentives Scheme the government is also inviting tourism units to be established in Schedule V Areas namely Kanker, Dantewara, Korla, Surguja and Jaspur Districts. Under this scheme tourism projects will be given “quick approval” by a High Level Committee who will “remove all obstacles to

tourism initiatives”.⁸⁹ The Chhattisgarh Government is providing 100% tax exemption for establishment of tourism units in Schedule V Areas. Though land transfer is not allowed, the Chhattisgarh Tourism Board offers a 50% exemption on land premium to investors for new tourism projects as well as simplifying the process of land allocation to investors, which has been diverted for tourism; creation of land banks by identification of Nazul land⁹⁰ which will be transferred to the tourism department for leasing it out to developers for 33 years. Similarly tourism infrastructure projects are being encouraged into Scheduled Areas by giving them a 15% subsidy on capital investment with a cap of Rs. 20 lakhs.⁹¹ The Tribal Advisory Councils that represent interests of the resident tribal population has no role in tourism development in their areas. None of these are permissible in Scheduled Areas and the spirit of privileging tribal rights and autonomy – which is the basis on which the state was formed – seems to have been discarded quite summarily by those who are supposed to protect and ensure these very rights!

5. Conclusion

Tourism is being actively pursued by the state governments and tourism industry. The natural areas with their aesthetically appealing landscapes and attractions such as wildlife are the important products for tourism. This form of nature based tourism is often used interchangeably with attractive terms such as ecotourism and wildlife tourism.

Ecotourism is presented and positioned as leading to conservation and benefits to local people. In reality however the operating paradigm is to make it private investment led and through privatisation of resources. The tourism policies of Uttarakhand, Madhya Pradesh, Chhattisgarh and Andaman Islands are examples of this kind of ecotourism development.

Tourism in Uttarakhand, Madhya Pradesh, Chhattisgarh and Andaman Islands has disregarded Constitutional provisions. It has disregarded the rights of the panchayats by keeping them out of decision making spaces and taking control over resources such as land thereby contravening the 73rd Constitutional Amendment. It has also usurped common property resources that are important for the sustenance and livelihoods of indigenous and local communities. Therefore its claims of conserving the environment and benefitting indigenous and local communities are hollow and have not been met. Moreover, tourism is currently being pushed into areas where indigenous and local communities have been struggling for basic rights such as land, autonomy and access to resources on which their livelihoods are dependent. In places like Kanha, tourism development has taken place in contravention to the Constitutional provisions of Schedule Areas.

While the claims of tourism to conserve environment and benefit local people have not materialised, it continues to be pushed into newer areas on hollow promise and claim of its immense potential to create employment and consequently alleviate poverty. However the costs of tourism on local resources, livelihoods, environment, culture, women and children are not taken into account. In the absence of local participation and decision making over tourism projects and the governments' apathy to local grievances and development needs, an atmosphere of distrust, fear and conflict has begun to take place. Tourism is thus turning out to be like any other activity that gives benefits to a few at the cost of many.

Given its poor record, there is no justification for governments to privilege the promotion of tourism over peoples' rights. The Constitutional provisions of the 73rd Amendment, Schedule V Areas and PESA Act need to be fully implemented and enforced while planning tourism development in these areas.

Endnotes

- 1 Scheduled Areas mean "... such areas as the President may by order declare to be scheduled areas". Scheduled Areas have a predominantly tribal population and provide autonomy to the tribal areas. Central and State laws are not automatically applicable to the Schedule Areas. With respect to land in these areas, the Constitution lays down in Article 244(1) Part B Section 5 (2) that the governor has the power to make regulations that may prohibit or restrict the transfer of land by or among members of the Scheduled Tribes to non-tribals, and also regulate allotment of land to members of the Scheduled Tribes.
- 2 Garhwal Mandal Vikas Nigam, <http://www.gmvnl.com/newgmvnl/facts/index.aspx> data retrieved April 2009
- 3 <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Uttarakhand>
- 4 <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Uttarakhand>
- 5 <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Uttarakhand>
- 6 Rawat, 1999, "The People of Uttarakhand", <http://uttarakhand.prayaga.org/info4.html> data retrieved April 2009.
- 7 <http://www.mpinfo.org/mpinfonew/english/factfile/mp.asp> data retrieved April 2009
- 8 Madhya Pradesh Forest Department, <http://mpforest.org/forest.html> data retrieved April 2009
- 9 Madhya Pradesh Forest Department, <http://mpforest.org/wildlife.html> data retrieved April 2009
- 10 Madhya Pradesh Tourism Development Corporation, <http://www.mptourism.com/tourpol.html> data retrieved April 2009
- 11 <http://www.trdi.mp.gov.in/statistics.asp> data retrieved April 2009
- 12 Government of Madhya Pradesh, <http://www.mp.gov.in/tribal/Tri.htm> data retrieved April 2009
- 13 Chhattisgarh Forest Department, http://cgforest.nic.in/about_chhattisgarh.htm data retrieved April 2009
- 14 Chhattisgarh Forest Department, <http://cgforest.nic.in/forestresources.htm> data retrieved April 2009
- 15 Chhattisgarh Forest Department, <http://cgforest.nic.in/livingwithwildlife.htm> data retrieved April 2009
- 16 Government of Chhattisgarh, <http://www.chhattisgarh.gov.in/tourism/tourism1.htm> data retrieved April 2009
- 17 Government of Chhattisgarh, <http://www.chhattisgarh.gov.in/profile/corIGIN.htm#seed> data retrieved April 2009
- 18 Andaman & Nicobar Islands Administration, <http://www.and.nic.in/Know%20Andaman/Intro1.htm> data retrieved April 2009
- 19 EQUATIONS et al, 2008, p 16
- 20 EQUATIONS et al, 2008, p 18
- 21 EQUATIONS et al, 2008, p 21-22
- 22 Stated by a participant from the Baiga tribe at a consultation "Tourism Development in Chhattisgarh: Threats and Challenges" on 25-26 January 2007, organised by Nadi Ghati Morcha and EQUATIONS.
- 23 http://www.corbettnationalpark.in/page_ctr_revealed.htm data retrieved April 2009
- 24 Project Tiger – Ministry of Environment & Forests, Government of India, <http://projecttiger.nic.in/corbett.htm> data retrieved April 2009
- 25 http://www.corbettnationalpark.in/page_visit_ctr.htm data retrieved April 2009
- 26 http://www.corbettnationalpark.in/page_visit_ctr.htm data retrieved April 2009
- 27 Information shared by participants at a Consultation on Tourism Issues in Uttarakhand organised by EQUATIONS at Ramanagar on 8 February 2009
- 28 http://www.corbettnationalpark.in/page_visit_ctr.htm data retrieved April 2009
- 29 Uttarakhand Forest Department, 2007, Uttarakhand Forest Statistics, Government of Uttarakhand, Dehradun, p 83.
- 30 Tiwari, P. C. & Joshi, Bhagwati (Eds.), 1997, "Wildlife in the Himalayan Foothills: Conservation and Management", Indus Publishing Company, p 309.
- 31 Ibid, p 311.
- 32 1 bigha = 43,200 sq ft, which is a little less than an acre (1 acre = 43,560 sq ft); therefore 1 bigha = 4,017.6 sq m (@ 1 sq ft = 0.093 sq m)
- 33 Sinha, N, Feb 2009, "Tiger declared maneater in Corbett, forest dept blames tourist pressure", Indian Express, New Delhi (<http://www.indianexpress.com/news/tiger-declared-maneater-in-corbett-forest-dept-blames-tourist-pressur.../420907>) data retrieved April 2009
- 34 Kaur, R, 2009, "Unlikely Maneaters" Down to Earth, Centre for Science & Environment, Delhi.

- 35 Madhya Pradesh Forest Department, <http://mpforest.org/Intranet/kanha/index.html> data retrieved April 2009
- 36 Madhya Pradesh Forest Department, <http://mpforest.org/Intranet/kanha/index.html> data retrieved April 2009
- 37 Madhya Pradesh Forest Department, <http://mpforest.org/Intranet/kanha/index.html> data retrieved April 2009
- 38 Tourist arrivals statistics obtained from MPTDC
- 39 Project Tiger – Ministry of Environment & Forests, Government of India, <http://projecttiger.nic.in/bandhavgarh.htm> data retrieved April 2009
- 40 Pers. Comm. with Mr. Asim Srivastav, Field Director, Bandhavgarh Tiger Reserve, at Tala on 30 January 2008.
- 41 Madhya Pradesh Forest Department, <http://mpforest.org/bandhavgarh.html#BANDHAVGARH> data retrieved April 2009
- 42 The Carrying Capacity that the Madhya Pradesh Forest Department has adopted is limited only to the number of safari vehicles that are allowed inside the Protected Areas. The concept does not apply to any other tourism activity like number of establishments around the Protected Area. Carrying Capacity has been calculated based on the principle:
Physical Carrying Capacity = No. of persons/unit area which is equivalent to No. of vehicles/unit length
Calculation of number of vehicles have been done based on the following conditions:
1. At least there should be a gap of 500m between two vehicles. ie. Within 1 km, there can be 2 vehicles.
 2. Roads prone to moderate erosion (dusty), reduce the number such that one vehicle is allowed within 1 km.
 3. Roads prone to heavy erosion, (slopes), reduce the number such that one vehicle is allowed within 2 km.
 4. In sensitive areas (breeding period/endangered species), one vehicle will be allowed per km. Management efficiency of the park officials: 40%
- E.g.: Let us take total length of the road to be 125 km.
As per condition 1, total vehicles allowed $125 \times 2 = 250$ nos. Roads prone to moderate erosion be 20km. Applying condition 2, no. of vehicles allowed = $20 \times 1 = 20$ nos.; reduction = $(20 \times 2) - 20 = 20$ nos. Roads prone to heavy erosion be 10km Applying condition 3, no. of vehicles allowed = $10 \times 1/2 = 5$ nos.; reduction = $(10 \times 2) - 5 = 15$ nos. Roads within sensitive habitat be 50 km Vehicles allowed = 50 nos. Total reduction = $(50 \times 2) - 50 = 50$ nos. Total vehicles allowed in 125 km stretch after reductions = $250 - 20 - 15 - 50 = 165$ nos. Efficiency of the forest staff = 40% Therefore total number of vehicles that can be allowed = $165 \times 40/100 = 66$ nos. Source: Pers. Comm. with Dr. P. B. Gangaopadhyay, Chief Wild Life Warden, Madhya Pradesh Forest Department, on 1 February 2008.
- 43 Tourist arrivals statistics obtained from MPTDC
- 44 Madhya Pradesh Forest Department, <http://mpforest.org/bandhavgarh.html> data retrieved April 2009
- 45 Pers. Comm. with Mr. Satyendra Tiwari, Skays Camp, Tala on 19 September 2008.
- 46 Pers. Comm. with Mr. K L Patel, Manager, White Tiger Forest Lodge, Madhya Pradesh Tourism Development Corporation, on 31 January 2008.
- 47 The most popular safari vehicles are the Maruti – Suzuki manufactured Gypsy model, which is a four wheel drive SUV.
- 48 Pers. Comm. with Mr. Asim Srivastav, Field Director, Bandhavgarh Tiger Reserve, at Tala on 30 January 2008.
- 49 Pers. Comm. with Dr. Deepak Patel, Jungle Tours & Travels at Tala on 31 January 2008.
- 50 Pers. Comm. with Mr. K L Patel, Manager, White Tiger Forest Lodge, Madhya Pradesh Tourism Development Corporation, on 31 January 2008.
- 51 Pers. Comm. with Dr. Deepak Patel, Jungle Tours & Travels at Tala on 31 January 2008.
- 52 Pers. Comm. with Mr. Asim Srivastav, Field Director, Bandhavgarh Tiger Reserve, at Tala on 30 January 2008.
- 53 The property is Mahua Kothi and is a joint venture between Taj Hotels Resort and Palaces and &Beyond.
- 54 Pers. Comm. with Dr. Deepak Patel, Jungle Tours & Travels at Tala on 31 January 2008.
- 55 Pers. Comm. with Mr. Rajesh Singh, Sarpanch, Tala Gram Panchayat on 18 September 2008.
- 56 Pers. Comm. with Mr. Satyendra Tiwari, Skays Camp, Tala on 19 September 2008.

- 57 Pers. Comm. with Mr. Rajesh Singh, Sarpanch, Tala Gram Panchayat on 18 September 2008.
- 58 Pers. Comm. with Mr. Satyendra Tiwari, Skays Camp, Tala on 19 September 2008.
- 59 Pers. Comm. with Mr. K L Patel, Manager, White Tiger Forest Lodge, Madhya Pradesh Tourism Development Corporation, on 31 January 2008.
- 60 Pers. Comm. with Mr. Satyendra Tiwari, Skays Camp, Tala on 19 September 2008.
- 61 Pers. Comm. with Mr. Satyendra Tiwari, Skays Camp, Tala on 19 September 2008.
- 62 Pers. Comm. with Mr. Rajesh Singh, Sarpanch, Tala Gram Panchayat on 18 September 2008.
- 63 Chhattisgarh Forest Department, http://cgforest.nic.in/nature_tourism.htm data retrieved April 2009.
- 64 Chhattisgarh Forest Department, http://cgforest.nic.in/nature_tourism.htm data retrieved April 2009.
- 65 Pers. Comm. with Mr. R. K. Sinha, RFO Barnawapara Wildlife Sanctuary, on 13 September 2008
- 66 Pers. Comm. with Mr. R. K. Sinha, RFO Barnawapara Wildlife Sanctuary, on 13 September 2008
- 67 Information given by Chhattisgarh Forest Department staff at the site on 13 September 2008.
- 68 Interview with Managing Director (Marketing), Chhattisgarh Tourism Board, Raipur on 12 September 2008.
- 69 Department of Information, Publicity and Tourism, Andaman & Nicobar Islands Administration, 2006.
- 70 EQUATIONS et al, 2008.
- 71 EQUATIONS et al, 2008.
- 72 EQUATIONS et al, 2008.
- 73 EQUATIONS et al, 2008.
- 74 EQUATIONS et al, 2008.
- 75 Government of India, 2005, "Joining the Dots" - Report of the Tiger Task Force, Ministry of Environment & Forests, New Delhi, p 134
- 76 Madhya Pradesh State Tourism Development Corporation, "Investment Opportunities In Tourism Sector of Madhya Pradesh", 1998-2007, <http://www.mptourism.com/MPTPDF.pdf>, retrieved on March 2009
- 77 Pers. Comm. with Dr. H. S. Pabla, Additional Principal Chief Conservator of Forest (Wildlife), Madhya Pradesh Forest Department, on 8 October 2008.
- 78 Pers. Comm. with Dr. H. S. Pabla, Additional Principal Chief Conservator of Forest (Wildlife), Madhya Pradesh Forest Department, on 8 October 2008.
- 79 Shared by participants at a Consultation on Tourism Issues in Uttarakhand organised by EQUATIONS at Ramanagar on 8 February 2009
- 80 Land improvement, implementation of land reforms, land consolidation and soil conservation (point no. 2 of the XI Schedule of the Constitution of India). The panchayats also have right to take decision on social forestry, farm forestry and minor forest produce; fuel and fodder; construction of roads, culverts, bridges, ferries, waterways and other means of communication in the panchayat.
- 81 Pers. Comm. with Mr. Rajesh Singh, Sarpanch, Tala Gram Panchayat on 18 September 2008.
- 82 Pers. Comm. with Mr. Satyendra Tiwari, Skays Camp, Tala on 19 September 2008.
- 83 Pers. Comm. with Mr. Niranjana, Panchayat Pradhan, Loridkhar Village on 13 September 2008.
- 84 Pers. Comm. with Mr. Rajesh Singh, Sarpanch, Tala Gram Panchayat on 18 September 2008.
- 85 Pers. Comm. with Mr. Ram Krishna Biswas, Pradhan, Neil Island, Andaman & Nicobar Islands, July 2007.
- 86 Legal aid system on local governance, 2004, <http://www.laslg.org> data retrieved March 2009.
- 87 No. C.O.192: The Scheduled Areas (States of Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand and Madhya Pradesh) Order, 2003 dated New Delhi, the 29th February, 2003
- 88 (Legislative Department) Notification G.S.R. 114 (E), Tribal Research and Development Institute, <http://www.trdi.mp.gov.in/tribalZone.asp> data retrieved March 2009
- 89 <http://www.chhattisgarhtourism.net/download/Incentive%20Scheme%202006.pdf>, data retrieved March 2009
- 90 Nazul land is the land which is given on lease by the municipal authorities to private persons for non-agricultural purposes. This type of land being barren, no agricultural activity is possible on it. http://ncm.nic.in/major_initiative.html
- 91 <http://www.chhattisgarhtourism.net/download/Incentive%20Scheme%202006.pdf>





This briefing paper is part of a compilation produced as part of the Life as Commerce Project in partnership with the Global Forest Coalition. The aim of this project is to address the environmental and social impacts of market based conservation schemes. The primary objective is to raise awareness on the impacts of such schemes, to build & strengthen capacity of local communities, social movements and women's group to address their impacts. EQUATIONS analysed the prevalence and impacts of ecotourism in the 4 Indian states of Chhattisgarh, Madhya Pradesh, Uttarakhand and Andaman & Nicobar Islands.

The Global Forest Coalition is an international coalition of Indigenous Peoples Organisations and NGOs that aims to reduce poverty amongst, and avoid impoverishment of, indigenous peoples and other forest-dependant peoples by advocating the rights of these peoples as a basis for forest policy and addressing the direct and underlying causes of deforestation and forest degradation.

<http://www.globalforestcoalition.org>

EQUATIONS was founded in 1985 in response to an urge to understand the impacts of tourism development particularly in the context of liberalised regimes, economic reforms and the opening up of the economy. We envision tourism that is non-exploitative, gender just & sustainable where decision making is democratised and access to and benefits of tourism are equitably distributed.

<http://www.equitabletourism.org>

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